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VOL. VII.—NO. 34.

BUGLE CALLS

For Immediate and Intenser Work of
Propaganda.

Address to the Pennsylvania Socialists
to Aid in the Work of Organization—
Appeal to Texas Socialists for a Propa-
ganda Tour of the State.

To the SOCIALISTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH
of PENNSYLVANIA:

Now is the time for the Socialists of the Keystone State to get down to hard work, to braver and harder effort than ever before. We have more than tripled our vote in the State, despite the influences at work to estrange our vote by offering opportunity to do "something practical," to "deliver a blow against political corruption in high places," by voting for "good men." While the official count is not concluded at this writing, enough is at hand to know that we have increased our vote from 1,683 in 1896 (Matchett) to 6,000 at least for William H. Thomas this year.

While some ratios of increase are remarkable, Philadelphia County from 674 to 1,506, Allegheny County from 267 to over 300—the happiest and most encouraging sign is the fact that nearly, if not every county return shows a solid and substantial Socialist growth. Our party has spread all over the State, in spite of the efforts of capitalist political hirings, labor fakirs, politicians and the conspiracy of silence on the part of the capitalist press. This fact is of more pleasing import to us than any ratio of increase at the present time. It means a rapidity of growth in the future, and a solidity of organization far beyond the brightest hopes we indulged a year ago. No longer will the Socialist organizer have to battle single-handed in an enemy's country; his hands will be held up everywhere in the State by warm-hearted comrades. With such a splendid foundation to build upon, let every Socialist in Pennsylvania firmly resolve to do his duty in making the campaign now on, the campaign for governor in 1898, the hottest we have ever waged. If every man will do what he can between now and next election day, Pennsylvania will take the position she is entitled to, both by virtue of her industrial development and the outrages of capitalism she has sustained—at the head of the Socialist column. Twenty-five thousand injunctions against wage-slavery and capitalist plunder is what we will have next year if we continue as we have begun, if we continue the tactics that have hitherto prevailed.

And now for a word as to these tactics. With "malice toward none and charity for all," we have maintained party discipline regardless of cost. We have permitted no schism. We have insisted that the only Socialism was scientific Socialism, and that the National Convention was its tribune and interpreter. We have declared that the class struggle meant class war, and that we would neither recognize nor permit guerrilla organization or individualistic marques and reprisals. So, regardless of pain inflicted—on ourselves no less than others—we purged our organization of every discordant element. We point to the result as justification of our work. Nor have we remained silent on one line of our gospel. We have delivered it in its native tongue, with neither interpolation nor expurgation. We have preached Karl Marx' Socialism and the class struggle. Again we point to our growth and the marked interest throughout the whole campaign as justification of our attitude. The people are sick of palliatives, sugar-coated pills, reform and humbug. They are ready for the strong food of Socialism.

With this great work before us, who will lag behind? With this happy prospect beckoning us on, who will place his individual opinion concerning non-essentials in the way of social salvation? Let the errors of the past be forgotten! Let the estrangement of yesterday be buried in the united effort of to-morrow. Every recruit is wanted and every soldier must stand up before the fire of the enemy.

Socialists of Pennsylvania, our work of '97 is well done. Let the work of 1898 show a still grander effort and a more glorious victory!

Dr. Wood has belonged to the Socialist ranks but a year, but has voted the ticket before there was any organization in Worcester.

The nominations for aldermen, Addison W. Barr, Leroy B. Usher and Charles K. Hardy, were then ratified.

The platform for the municipal campaign was then adopted, as follows:

"We, the Socialist Labor party, in convention assembled, recognize that through the private ownership of capital, society is divided into two hostile classes, and, as a result, waste, want, degradation and corruption are forced upon the community. So, the Socialist Labor party, for the second time, enters the municipal campaign, with a full determination to get control of the political machinery of this city government. And we hold more firmly than ever that the true theory of government is that the machinery of government should be owned and operated by the people collectively, and that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production and distribution—that is the land and tools of production and distribution of commodities: in other words, capital—should be owned by the whole people collectively, so that the worker shall receive the full value of his or her labor; and not as now owned, by a small class of individual capitalists, who perform no useful service as such, but receive rents, interest and profits, and operated by a class of

comrades who are ready to speak out for the people.

And what about the employers? They demand the absolute and exclusive say in shop legislation. It is evident from the above that their position cannot be made good unless the political basis of modern production is first overthrown. To give them right, the national political institutions must be adapted to the economic ones of slavery.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....	2,065
In 1890.....	12,321
In 1892 (Presidential).....	21,157
In 1894.....	33,123
In 1896 (Presidential).....	36,564

The artisan who is demanding at this time an eight hours day in the building trades is simply striving to recover what his ancestor worked by four or five centuries ago.

Thorold Rogers.

A HINT FROM TURKEY.

Our Western civilization capitalists have long abandoned their pristine respect for democratic institutions, and for the inevitable outcome of these parliamentary or representative government. They have wheeled about, and now, as far as their secret sentiments are concerned, they stand in mute admiration before the despotic system of government, which to overthrow was a condition precedent for their own access to power. To-day, our Western civilization capitalists find that their quondam phrases of liberalism are a hindrance to them; they are taken up by the proletariat and are used in ways and manners that bode nothing good to our capitalists. In view of all this, our Western civilization capitalists would fain find some pretext to abolish representative government and all the political liberties that lead to or flow from it.

But they dare not. Much as they seek for pretexts to circumvent the suffrage, to put stumbling blocks in its way, even to hamstring it, they have not yet boldly dared to declare it bad, less yet have they dared to take a stand against representative government. But now comes a voice from the far and uncivilized East. The Sultan of Turkey drops a hint.

The Austrian parliament has, during the last few months, been presenting a shocking spectacle of disorder, and even riot. The lie direct has been passed; inkstands have flown across the room from the desk of one delegate upon the nose of another; benches have been raised and dropped on heads; blood has flown; in short the public has been treated to the spectacle of a beer garden upon an extensive and from a conspicuous theater. Western civilization capitalists looked on, and drew a variety of more or less flat conclusions; the Sultan of Turkey, however, steps up and pointing his finger at the Austrian riotous assembly, says: "Lo, parliamentary government!" By this one, short sentence the Unspeakable Turk becomes the exponent of the Western civilization capitalism; he leaps to the very front as the genuine representative of the aspirations of Western civilization capitalism as the only one who fathoms its sentiments and expresses its wishes.

We may expect at any moment to see the Turkish hint taken by our Western capitalist class. Political freedom has become an unmitigated nuisance to it; it keeps that class in constant fear, jumping up and down the anxious seat at every election; every year almost holding its breath during campaigns, and with palpitating heart, asking itself the question, What is going to rip now?

Can such a nuisance be much longer tolerated by our Western civilization rulers, whose affinity with Eastern barbarism, the Sultan's hint now makes clear?

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

Prof. Ely and other economists, who, by talking about "natural monopolies," reveal they have not yet understood the meaning of the word "capital," may be given a lift by the "New Bakery" that is casting its strong shadow ahead, and which helps to make clear that all capital, if left to develop, is bound to become monopoly, the same as all babies, if given a chance, are bound to become adults.

The Cleveland (O.) "Citizen" gives the following account of and comments on the "New Bakery":

Talk about socialism being a dream! A bakers' trade journal mentions a new process that will be put in operation in London shortly by a company capitalized at \$1,250,000 by which bread will be baked without the aid of miller or baker. The raw wheat is poured into the machine, water-soaked, converted into a pulp, passing through a mixer, after which the refuse is removed, and then other parts of the machine form loaves from one pound up, a continuous roller carrying the same to the bake oven. Only a few ordinary laborers are necessary to operate the machine, and a local baker declares that forty men could supply the whole city of Cleveland with bread by this new process. Sir Charles Cameron, of Dublin, and Dr. Otto Hohn,

of London, well-known chemists and scientists, declare that the bread is more pure and wholesome than that baked under the present system. The bread can be produced about as cheap as flour can be purchased now. Plants will be established in Germany, Austria and Belgium by the company. Of course, the small bakery capitalists will be forced into bankruptcy, and the millers also, while the workers—well, they will have time to hunt for that prosperity that the politicians are prating about. Still, the journeymen can benefit themselves by studying the question of collective ownership of the tools of production and distribution and by voting right.

As well talk of "natural adults" as of "natural monopolies."

Keir Hardie's "Labor Leader" flies off into poetry and melodramatic pictures acent Henry George's death, of whom it says that

"He fell, sword in hand, in the thick of battle. No more glorious finish to a life of righteous warfare could be wished for."

Now George died on a political ticket which coupled him with the Seth Low in borough Manhattan and the Tammanyites of Brooklyn, in other words battling with landlords and capitalists not one of whom has not his hands red with the blood of the working class, and this fact was emphasized by Judge Van Brunt, who ran on the other ticket, being a beloved candidate on George's too! A glorious finish, indeed!

Fortunately for the British reading public, they are not left for their information on American events exclusively to that slushy sentimentalism that is all things to all men. The London "Justice" makes this just, and instructive estimate of the man:

"Mr. Henry George, whose sudden death almost on the eve of the election has been the most startling incident in connection with the New York mayoral contest, in which he was a candidate, was at one time regarded as the hope of the advanced labor party in America. While, however, many of his followers advanced, George retrograded, and at the time of his death was but the nominee of one of the plutocratic parties in the States. Henry George was never a socialist, but earlier in his career it was hoped that he would see, as others had seen, the logical outcome of his own arguments, and would definitely take sides with the socialists. The vigor and earnestness of his advocacy won him many friends in this country, even among socialists who were by no means misled by his theories. The single plank of the 'single tax,' which constituted his whole platform, and to which he absolutely pinned his faith, as a universal Morrison's pill for all social evils, has over and over again been demonstrated to be a fallacy; and never more clearly than in his debate with H. M. Hyndman in St. James' Hall in July, 1889, when George completely adopted the capitalist position, and opposed Socialism as strongly as any individualist could do. From that time he steadily went back, American, as well as English capitalists, were not slow to see the advantage to them of the Single Tax theory, and George, who was expelled from his own, the United Labor Party, was cordially welcomed into the capitalist camp. He defended the legal murder of the Chicago martyrs, and was an active supporter of President Cleveland. Our readers will be able to understand how it is that so many capitalist papers have lamented his death which, if he had died ten years ago, would have rejoiced thereat. Whatever his personal qualities, George was, as Marx described him, a 'back number.'

In view of the flaming accounts one finds just now in the Chicago, Ill., "Social Democrat" about how the "Social Democracy is spreading over New England like a wild fire"—very much like the items one used to find in the Terre Haute, Ind., "Railway Times," the predecessor of the "Social Democrat," about the wild fire way in which the American Railway Union was spreading, when, in fact, it was dead and dead—In view of that, the following passage from a letter from New Haven, Ct., sent to this office should be printed. A few years hence the two views will be better appreciated:

"We had Debs here. Big meeting, full house; great applause—2 new members. The Social Democracy of New Haven now consists of 5 Jews and 2 Gentiles, all N. G."

The San Francisco, Cal., "New Charter" bits the nail squarely on the head in this squib:

"Does Mr. Walter McArthur, of the Coast Seamen's Union, suppose that it was anything in his personality that caused his selection as chairman of the Metropolitan Temple mass-meeting last Wednesday night by the troquois (Democratic) Club, to boom several aspiring politicians, big and little? If so, let him be undeceived. He was called because back of him is 3,000 men whom the politicians hope to use as stepping stones to their ambitions. Mr. McArthur serves the cause of labor but poorly when he works in harness with political fakirs of the capitalistic school."

"Puck" thinks it can arrest the doom of the capitalist class—to whom, after threatening it, it has sold itself—with "jokes" like this:

Farmer (to the mule he is riding)—"Get up, Populist!"

City Traveler—"That is a funny name to give a mule; why do you call him Populist?"

Farmer—"Because he is a chronicicker."

The kicks of Populism are certainly absurd; but to ascribe them to chronic viciousness, and not to the great underlying cause of the increasing hardship to earn a living, brought on by capitalism, is passing stupidity; to imagine that by doing so capitalism can be saved and the Social Revolution prevented reveals a still more bottomless stupidity.

The Johnston, R. L., "Beacon" takes up the "practicals" and disposes of them as follows:

"The Socialist-Labor Party comes in

for a large amount of criticism from people who are styled practical. They do not charge us with falsehood, or hypocrisy, or inconsistency. That is not it. The trouble with us in the eyes of our critics is that we cling to our principles with unheard of tenacity.

The charge made against scientific Socialists is all true. Their principles are the basis of all their convictions, and in giving assent to the essential truths they embody scientific Socialists do so with the idea that this approval should be expressed by deed more than by word. This is a position not a little unusual. Individuals have at times assumed it, but no body of men equal to the Socialist-Labor Party has taken such a stand.

"There is a most striking feature about the present age. It is full of shams. The rule of the day is to deck oneself out in a gaudy jumble of great professions and to regard it highly improper to be guilty of any kind of conduct betraying a desire to live up to them.

"With some persons the accepted rule of the day furnishes a broad scope for their craftiness and cunning. They are our public men, our captains of industry, and above all our statesmen. By most other people, notably those of a practical turn of mind, the rule is followed for no other reason than that it is the custom and habit. To these that is a sufficient reason, there can be no stepping out from the rule, and they cannot for the life of them understand why there should be any departure from it. Hence their flings at the Socialist-Labor Party.

"With scientific Socialists, it must be confessed, principles are not mere ornaments, something to be worn on the breast and discarded as fancy chooses. They are for use. They supply the motive force for all action, and the more one gets in line with them the faster he strides ahead. They are the stepping stones in the torrent of ignorance and hypocrisy, which capitalist thought and conduct have let loose across the path of progress. The course they give is straight and direct, with no turning or zig-zagging, and the footing is firm and dry. Over them the Socialist-Labor Party elects to go because that route is the safest and best. Practical people may be willing to ford or swim the torrent. Scientific Socialists see no necessity for getting wet and dirty."

LATER ON.

[Adapted from the poem, "Later On," in the Boston "Traveller," Nov. 8, 1897, by TIMOTHY LEHAN, Dedham, Mass.]

There's a better day a-coming for the wronged and trodden-down, With prosperity a-booming in the country and the town; Abolition of the classes, with justice for the masses, And a freedom that surpasses all that freemen ever knew.

For the people are beginning to well understand at last, How capitalists have been winning their great wealth in the past, And nearer-draws the hour when, with their over-ruling power, They will vote down and cower the whole capitalist crew.

Open roads there'll be to plenty in our nation of the West, To plenty, progress, brotherhood, Labor crowned the first and best; But Capitalism now bars them save and only to the few, Who at Exploitation's bidding their ignoble work will do.

They who trample o'er our birthrights by profit, interest, rent, And transform our noble country to a wage slave settlement; So, from the freeborn sons of heroes their hard-won freedom steal, And lead our manhood bound to Competition's chariot wheel.

But Socialism is now growing and will teach the masses right, And with such noble cause to win, who will falter in the fight? And victory will crown us, King Capital be overthrown, With the Red Flag o'er the White House, when the workers take their own.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

J. K., New York.—Rufus Choate once said hell was not warm enough for the man who wrote a book without an index. If he had the experience of correspondents like yourself, who send their articles on UNNUMBERED sheets of paper, he would have added them to the list of those that should be read.

TO THE POETS WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:—Mercy! If your eyes and ears misguide you that your metre is out of joint and your rhyme is out of tune, and that, possibly, also your grammar is out of gear, be sure it is sufficient torture to conscientiously read your production. Do not aggravate the affliction and infliction by demanding a detailed explanation of wherein your poem "may be" defective. The subdivision of labor in this office has not yet reached that stage of perfection where we can have a "department of prosody," with a well equipped corps of secretaries, typewriters, stenographers and other assistants to furnish prompt and detailed answers to inquiring poet contributors.

A little manual of statistics, invaluable to Socialist speakers, has been issued by Comrade Thomas Bersford, of San Francisco. It is justly called a "Derringer." Its price is 15 cents. Special terms are considered. Apply N. Y. Labor News Co., 64 East Fourth street, N. Y., or 91½ Market street, San Francisco.

To Jewish Sections and Branches. Wilshire's leaflet, "Why American Workingmen Should Be Socialists," has been translated into Jewish, and can now be had at \$1.25 per 1,000 or \$1.50, if sent by mail or express. Address all orders to

LABOR NEWS CO.,
64 East 4th Street, New York.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

PHILANTHROPY AND LABOR LEGISLATION.

If every separate layer of the proletariat had been left to its own unaided efforts, the uplifting process among them would have begun later, and been much slower and painful than it was in fact. Without outside aid, many a layer of the proletariat, that now occupies an honorable position, may not have been at all able to overcome the difficulties, which are inherent in all beginnings, and, accordingly, also to the beginning of that process of uplifting the proletariat from the swamp into which it was cast by the development of capitalism. That aid came from many an upper social rank—from the upper ranks of the working proletariat as well as from the property-holding classes. The latter of these was of no slight value in the early days of capitalist large production.

The more fully the capitalist system develops, the more large production crowds out inferior forms of production or causes them to change their character, all the more important becomes the strengthening of factory and kindred laws, and their extension not only to all the branches of large industries, but also to those of small production and even of agriculture. But in the same measure as the importance of these laws grows, grows also the influence of the large capitalists in modern society; the non-capitalist but property-holding classes—landlords, small producers, etc.—become infected with capitalist modes of thought and the thinkers and statesmen of capitalist rule who formerly were its luminaries soon sink to the level of "gougers" and "bruisers" of their class, ready to do its dirty work and to oppose tooth and nail everything that threatens its immediate interests.

The devastation of its own working people by capitalist production is so shocking that only the most shameless and greedy capitalist dare to refuse a certain degree of statutory protection to labor. But for some important labor law, the eight-hour day, for instance, which is to-day equivalent to the ten-hour day of forty years ago in England, and which would do something more than afford some slight relief, there will be found but very few supporters among the class of the property-holders. Capitalist philanthropy becomes ever more bashful; it leaves more and more to the workers themselves the conduct of the struggle for their protection. The modern universal struggle for the eight-hour day bears a very different aspect from the struggle that was carried on in England fifty years ago for the ten-hour day; the property-holding politicians who advocate it are not moved by philanthropy, but because they are pushed to it by their constituents, the workingmen. The struggle for labor legislation is becoming more and more a class struggle between proletarians and capitalists. On the continent of Europe, and here in the United States, where the struggle for labor laws commenced much later than in England, it bore this character from the start. The proletariat has nothing more to hope from the property-holding class in its endeavors to uplift itself. It now depends wholly upon its own efforts.

Brother Jonathan—Well, the Socialist Labor Party did pretty well this election. Uncle Sam—Yes, it grew everywhere. B. J.—And yet there must be something wrong about that party that it don't grow faster. Think of all the Hazletons, think of all the lowerings of wages, think of all the distress. The S. L. P. should have polled millions of votes this year.

U. S.—And as it would have done if it only could reach the people.

B. J.—Why don't it?

U. S.—The principal reason is lack of funds to establish a daily paper. The other parties can deluge the country with their rubbish and almost drown our voice. We need money, and we are collecting it.

B. J. (throwing his arms wildly around)—"Money?" I'm glad you admit there is a money question at the bottom of it all. Only last year you were denying that.

U. S.—Denying what?

B. J.—That the people need more money.

U. S.—We did not deny that, and don't deny it now.

B. J.—You didn't?

U. S.—What we did deny was that they had no money because the per capita of money was not large; what we did deny was that the way to make the workers better off was to enrich the silver-mine barons still more. That's what we denied and still deny.

B. J.—And what's the difference?

U. S.—All the difference in the world. If a man is starving he does so for want of food, eh?

B. J.—Sure.

U. S.—Would he cease starving if you put more food into someone else's stomach, you egghead mutt?

B. J.—Who is the mutton head?

U. S.—You, of course.

B. J.—People have no money. To make them get it, you propose, what?

Letting them have more money? No.

Letting the silver-mine barons, who now have more money than they know what to do with, have still more. And what's that?

U. S.—And what's the difference?

U. S.—All the difference in the world.

An Appeal to the Workers to Enroll themselves in the Ranks of the Socialist Labor Party.

The Socialist Labor party never promises truth to make a friend, never withholds a blow at error lest it make an enemy. In firm assurance of final victory, it pursues its course unswayed by weak desire for temporary advantage. It is ever outspoken and straightforward, believing that in fearless independence, the integrity of purpose by which it is inspired, will, in the end, win the respect and confidence of those whom it aims to weld into a class-conscious aggressive body. Its propaganda is not alone to educate; it is to organize the working class for the conquest of power, for the complete overthrow of capitalism. Until that mission is accomplished, it will stand like a rock, alert and watchful, yielding nothing.

The Socialist Labor party takes its stand on the class struggle. The misery and subjection of the working class are due to the fact that the instruments of production and distribution, which are necessary to existence, are the private property of another class. Through the economic power of this possession the capitalist class robs the working-class of its liberties and of the wealth that it produces. Therefore, the interests of these two classes are diametrically opposed, the class struggle inevitable. Granted this is an ugly fact, though not half so ugly as the conditions that arise from it. Yet it is the truth, and it can avail nothing to ignore it. Indeed, it were folly for us to do so, for out of the growing consciousness of this clash of interests will come unity of purpose and strength. Not till that class which produces all wealth secures possession of the instruments of production, will the class struggle come to an end. The class line will disappear only when exploitation is made impossible.

The Socialist Labor party, as a political organization, points out that

through possession of the government in every department the capitalist class has transformed it into the chief buttress of its economic supremacy. How mercilessly this power is used in defense of its class interests, the events of the recent miners' strike bear ample witness. In the manifestations of capitalism there are continually springing up movements representing some special idea or particular interest. Here, too, is seen the same significant development manifested by the older parties. Each new party makes more direct appeal to the working-class interest for support, tries to establish an appearance of identity with it.

First come the independents, who exalt their lack of political conviction into a virtue, but thereby bear unwitting testimony to the utter lack of any vital distinction in the parties between which they vacillate, the scorn of both. Of like character are the "reform," the "citizens," the "good government" movements, usually local in their activities, and based on the same denial of party distinctions. They are intensely capitalist, aiming to supplant their blackmailing political servants by a direct "business," that is, CAPITALIST administration of affairs.

The Prohibition party, fast dwindling into insignificance, now tries to prolong its existence by a gentle show of interest in current economic questions, which in no way disturb its own endeavor—to serve capital by cheapening labor's cost of maintenance.

With the People's party a distinct economic interest came to the front. It was the last rally of the disappearing middle class, the harassed and debt-ridden small capitalists, in a desperate attempt to turn back the forces of capitalism and maintain a place for themselves within its ranks. As developed capitalism was in full control of the old political organizations, and heedless of their predicament, there was but one class to whom they could appeal—the working class. Thanks to the persistent work of the Socialist Labor party, that appeal of necessity took a socialist form. On no other ground could there be hope of successfully reaching that section of the working class which was no longer blindly bound to the old parties. The People's party, therefore, adopted from the Socialist platform some of the immediate demands which might be best made to serve its own purposes such as control of the railroads by the government. At the same time, inasmuch as it was but a section of the capitalist class, it was equally necessary that it should ignore the class struggle in appealing to the workers. So it cloaked its reactionary character in revolutionary bunting, and there were many who eagerly took the bait.

The Socialist Labor party alone stood firm. It faced the abuse of those who profess Socialism, but held aloof from its organized forces. It raised the voice of warning. It showed the true character of this new party, the impossibility of its success, its inevitable disintegration with the first clash of the class interests.

Even so it came about. So soon as the prospect came of realizing that debasement of the currency upon which the distressed middle class had staked all its hopes for rehabilitation, the mask was thrown aside. The class interest, so carefully kept out of sight, asserted itself; and, shame be it said, that element which had proudly boasted it would capture the party for Socialism, was humiliatingly dragged along in the wild rout. Populism gave one great silver yawp, and then ex-

pired.

The Socialist Labor party came out of this struggle with unbroken ranks, and with renewed faith in its mission. Once more had the irrefutable logic of its stand on the class struggle been demonstrated. The Socialist truism, that "where there are no common interests there can be no unity of purpose, much less of action," had received fresh confirmation.

Through the clearing of the political atmosphere which came with the collapse of Populism, a point has been reached where no new political organization can appeal to the working class with hope of response on any but a Socialist platform. The tireless agitation of the Socialist Labor party at last shows signs of bearing fruit. The economic development of capitalism, and the international growth of the Socialist party, render misleading statements regarding its character and aims no longer of any avail.

These are the conditions which make clear why recent attempts to organize a new party have necessarily assumed a Socialist garb. Men, who, but a year ago, were enlisted in one or the other of the capitalist parties, have to day the presumption to assume that they represent the Socialist movement of America. The conclusion is justified that it is but a flimsy attempt to fasten

the course of this development finds its reflex in the political atmosphere. In the older parties, which are the two political wings of capitalism, there is, on the one side, a more and more

new sections in 22 states have been organized in the first nine months of 1897.

pronounced affectation of solicitude for the welfare of the workers, with reckless indulgence in glowing promises. There is assertion of the supremacy of labor's interest; but, at the same time, that interest is made by a sophistical twist, to depend on the overflowing of capital's bottomless pocket. This must first be filled.

On the other side there is assumed the garb of radicalism. The phrases of the labor movement are seized on and senselessly echoed back and forth, deprived of all significance. Some particular manifestation of the oppressive ness of capitalism is singled out and magnified into an issue by these self-styled "champions of the common people." They raise the cry of "stop thief," only that the capitalist may the more readily escape with his plunder.

On both sides the appeal to the working class, hypocritical though it is, necessarily becomes more pronounced as that class grows in consciousness of its necessities. In that act of recognition of the developing interest of which account must be taken, and to which appeal must be made; of that power which must be deluded and divided lest it sweep them both out of existence, and with them the whole capitalist organization of society.

At all times has the Socialist Labor party pointed out the hollowness and insincerity of their pretensions, the mockery of their promises, and, more than all else, their identical capitalist character, that in the defense of capitalism they are as a unit.

Between the two greater political divisions of capitalism there are continually springing up movements representing some special idea or particular interest. Here, too, is seen the same significant development manifested by the older parties. Each new party makes more direct appeal to the working-class interest for support, tries to establish an appearance of identity with it.

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pired.

Upon and control the growing Socialist movement. They have read the signs of the times. ("Others have sown the seed of true social economy, we are to reap the harvest."—Social-Democrat, September 23, 1897.)

Had they been moved solely by a pure zeal for Socialism, their initial step would not have been one that could tend only to perpetuate and increase the disorganization of the workers. In common decency they would have enrolled themselves in the ranks of the organized party, which through storm and stress had unfalteringly upheld the banner of Socialism. By their failure to do so, by the very act of attempting to form a new and distinctive party, they placed themselves in opposition to the International movement, with which the Socialist Labor party is in full harmony. And at the same time they not only discredit their motives, they stultify their Socialism as well.

The situation bears strong resemblance to conditions which existed in Germany on the eve of the revolution of 1848, when, as Marx tells us, "there was hardly a single prominent political character among the bourgeoisie who did not proclaim himself a Socialist, in order to insure to himself the sympathy of the proletarian class. There is evidence in plenty to establish this parallel of insincerity or ignorance of profession, and of ambitious self-seeking.

The Socialist Labor party does not shrink from this new emergency. It would be false to its duty, it would be lacking in vigilance, were it to fail to expose the insidious character of this attack, to give warning to its dangerous tendencies, so far as they can be discerned from the confused and contradictory utterances of self-appointed leaders.

The first act of this new party betrayed its true character, the bourgeoisie instinct beneath its proletarian profession.

It attempted adaptation of the platform of the Socialist labor party to its purposes is significant in its omission. The Socialist arraignment of private property in the instruments of production, and its call upon the wage workers to organize into a class-conscious body, are both carefully cut out. Here was practical denial of the fundamental tenets of Socialism. IN THE ENDEAVOR TO MAKE IT MORE PRESENTABLE TO THOSE TO WHOM APPEAL WAS NECESSARY FOR FUNDS TO CARRY OUT THE COLONIZATION SCHEME. "Disrepute passed away, and respectability was born." (Social-Democrat, July 15, 1897.) But, alas for Socialism! That which rightly understood is its most powerful weapon of attack, that which is the vital force of its propaganda, the appeal to the class instinct and interest, was bartered for a mess of potage.

The subsequent development has been in full keeping with this first fatal mis-step. The class struggle has been studiously ignored in the appeal for support. Principle was yielded to the ignis fatuus glamour of names and numbers. Not on the sure ground of common interests and disintegration which are on the other assumes the whip hand.

For the energies of such a heterogeneous assemblage of sentimentalism, lacking in the cohesive force of an intelligent unity of purpose, some safe outlet was a necessity, some project that would not make prominent the class struggle, thereby engendering friction in the ranks. Quite natural was it that refuge was taken in the familiar haven of utopian philanthropy, in revamping exploded schemes of pseudo-socialist colonization.

It is a curious commentary that these new discoverers and self-appointed apostles of Socialism should have begun with schemes which scientific Socialism left behind some fifty years ago. Their advocacy now, in the name of Socialism, can only tend to confusion and discredit to the movement, as their impracticability is manifested. They wastefully divert energy and raise vain hopes that must end in greater discouragement. They are most apt to serve but as a means of convenient access to the pockets of those deluded ones, who, for the most part, can ill afford the drain.

The fundamental error of the promoters of such schemes lies in their utter failure to comprehend the historical processes of social evolution. They wholly overlook that co-operative production which they seek to realize after fashions of their own contriving, is an outgrowth of capitalism itself; that the outlines of the co-operative commonwealth are developing right here within it. That, consequently, what is now most necessary, is that the forces of co-operative production, already organized within capitalism, should be given political expression. Or, in other words, that the class of co-operating producers should acquire the powers of state as a means of asserting the priority of its interests, and thereby of ending its exploitation by the capitalist class. It cannot be too often emphasized that "THE FIRST STEP IN THE REVOLUTION BY THE WORKING CLASS, IS TO RAISE THE PROLETARIAT TO THE POSITION OF RULING CLASS."

Infinitely more important, therefore, than its fantastical scheme of colonization, is the political attitude of this new organization. Here is the real test. And, here, at once, the confusion of interests, the lack of a clearly defined basis of action asserts itself. Each interest speaks for itself, creating a veritable babel of tongues in which the most contradictory utterances are met with. They range from political professions so in harmony with the teachings of the Socialist Labor party as to leave the new organization no excuse for a separate existence, down through inuendo and disparagement of the political attack, to denunciation of the ballot, and more or less open appeal to force of arms. The official organ veers from attempts to placate Socialist criticism to freely expressed contempt for political methods. By the promoters of the colonization scheme political action seems to be regarded as a mere adjunct, a lowly camp-follower of the true faith, to be employed only in such States as are selected for colonization.

These are the conditions which make clear why recent attempts to organize a new party have necessarily assumed a Socialist garb. Men, who, but a year ago, were enlisted in one or the other of the capitalist parties, have to day the presumption to assume that they represent the Socialist movement of America. The conclusion is justified that it is but a flimsy attempt to fasten

upon and control the growing Socialist movement. They have read the signs of the times. ("Others have sown the seed of true social economy, we are to reap the harvest."—Social-Democrat, September 23, 1897.)

pretension that it is a political party. For who can know which of these contradictory views will determine its action at the crucial moment?

Furthermore, this organization at its national convention expressly granted to the national executive board power either to permit fusion, or to prevent political action altogether as it might see fit. ("No local or state branch shall go into politics through fusion or otherwise, WITH OUT THE CONSENT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD."—Adopted by the National Convention, June 21, 1897.) By that very act it branded itself unworthy of the confidence of the working class. However honest in purpose the executive officers, that resolution makes them a mark for suspicion. It breathes treachery in every line.

We, therefore, deny utterly the right of the Social Democracy, either as an economic organization or as a political party, to speak in the name of Socialism.

Fellow wage-workers, the Socialist Labor party claims your confidence and support only in so far as it has succeeded in giving expression to your necessities and rights as a class. As earnest of its sincerity of purpose it points proudly to its record. In the face of misrepresentation, abuse, persecution and seeming defeat, it has never lost courage. It has battled aggressively with every form of fakirism that stood in the way of your class-conscious organization. Without the prestige of names, almost without means, its persistent agitation has carried the message of Socialism to every corner of the land. Unflinchingly it has asserted the class interest at the polls, rejecting every form of compromise. By the vigor of its attack it has made itself the one power which every man of labor fears.

All this it has done in no spirit of self-seeking. Its aim has been to rouse you, through ceaseless agitation, to an intelligent conception of your rights as a class; and, at the same time, by laying the foundation of a class-conscious political organization, to forge the weapon which, wielded by your strength, should prove the means of your deliverance from economic slavery.

Beware of those who disparage the potency of the political attack, who would delude you into fruitless and never ending struggles to achieve your economic independence within the capitalist system. Your economic subjection is an inevitable result of capitalism, and therefore can be ended only with its overthrow. It will continue so long as you permit capitalism to maintain itself through control of all the organized forces of society, so long as you leave in its hands those powers of government by which it holds you in check at every turn.

That analogy is false, by which, to mislead you, it is pointed out that political supremacy came to the capitalist class as a result of its growth in economic power. That is true enough so far as the capitalist class is concerned, for the very reason that every step in the development of capitalism meant for that class an increase in its economic power. BUT FOR YOU IT IS JUST THE OPPOSITE. For you every step of that development means GREATER ECONOMIC SUBJECTION. Yet, hand in hand with this loss of economic power comes your growth in the power of numbers. In the assertion of that power lies the secret of your emancipation.

This power of numbers can be put forth in but two ways, through political action, or through physical force.

Between these you must choose. But, to adopt the latter, while you have access to the ballot, would not only be absurd, in the present disorganized condition of the workers it would be suicidal. It would serve only as a welcome pretext of the capitalist for measures of severest repression.

Give the strength of your support, therefore, to the Socialist Labor party, which stands honestly and at all times for the interests of your class. Its progress is your progress. Its victory will be your emancipation.

Organize, comrades, for the battle at the polls!

SECTION CHICAGO, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

(Continued from Page 1.)

they doggedly vote to uphold the capitalist system that reduces them to wage slavery.

The conflict between the capitalists and the workingmen, as plainly illustrated by this electrical conflict, fore-shadows the issue. These conflicts will either open the eyes of the working class upon the contradiction of their position, and cause them to become logical by joining the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, together with the Socialist Labor party, and thus adapt the industrial institutions to the political, by placing the nation's machinery of production in the hands of the whole nation; or these conflicts will teach the workers nothing, and, beaten from strike to strike, they will slowly sink to such a low level of impotence, mentally and physically, as may enable the employers' or capitalist class to carry out and enforce its programme, restore order by adapting the political institutions of the land to the industrial—abolish its freedom of suffrage, and establish political slavery to match the industrial article.

The present electrical strike, by bringing out the real issue in the conflicts between the capitalist and the working class, is a valuable link in the evolution that is going on. It also helps to reveal the real political issue that today divides our people, and it discloses the gist of the platforms on which the political parties are built. On the one hand, the party of the Capitalist Class, however many names it may have, standing on the consistent principles of the Employer or Capitalist Class, and the Socialist Labor party, the party of the Working Class, standing on the consistent principles of the Employé or Proletariat.

The issue is none other than absolute freedom or absolute slavery.

Which shall win, workingmen?

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

MY UNCLE THE MUGWUMP.

BY PETER E. BURBOWER.

My uncle keeps a money shop, (Not so low as your "three balls"), He takes a president in pop And senators he "puts" and "calls." He is as slippery a man, As ever dodged a public slump; He's neither black, nor white, nor tan, But simply a MUGWUMP.

My uncle knows his way up to The royal presence needing loans, With money sweat' from me and you He props some guilty bloodstained thrones. And then: may Greece or Crete be free? Nay! his crowned debtors that would stomp, So peoples, by captivity, Must pay the wise MUGWUMP.

My uncle b'lieves that coming on Is kingly rule in nearby years, And hopes to see his offspring don, The coronets of Yankee peers, And so he piles his millions high By methods straight, or methods crump, And banks for a nobility To spring from the Mugwump.

My uncle loves the workmen much, But more the iron wheels that roll, Obedient to a button's touch, Unthrobbed by heart, or brain, or soul.

Oh, how he wishes that the hand Almighty made men in one lump, And subject to the stern command Of capital's Mugwump.

My uncle hath a pleasant tune To greet the baby when it comes, Come, babe of mine, the golden spoon Of destiny between thy gums. A lord by G—, my son must be, Though he should buy it with a hump.

This barren bold democracy Don't suit the high Mugwump.

My uncle scorns the slaves of wage, Whose struggles to get out of hell He deems a sort of sacrifice, Since fate and lie have bound the spell, You cannot elevate the poor, Nor beautify the public dump, The laborers are but soil, be sure, On which is grown the great Mugwump.

My uncle hath a pleasant tune With tables gorgeously set forth, The queenly diamonds on his wife Are there as twinklings of his worth, "Lixers" and wines for us, But you! Go stuff you at the public pump, God ever had his chosen few, At present the Mugwump.

My uncle thinks the country needs All abolition of restraints On capital, whose golden seeds Are scattered by the hands of saints, He don't display a Cromwell's sway In dealing with the rebel Rump, He simply wires and they obey The paramount Mugwump.

My uncle is no patriot. No To shame's black verge, his country's pride He leads, and pointing deep below, Commands his victim to decide, That gulf or bondage choose this hour, "Tis but a diplomatic jump, So honor yields to wealth and power And crowns the great Mugwump.

My uncle fills his brimming glass, And drinks a loud and laughing toast Unto that land that knows no class And knows no freedom but its boast, Here's to Old Stripes! Poor Uncle Sam, That long and thin and cheerful chump, Who licks the bone and leaves the ham To fatten the Mugwump.

Do you know a good thing when you see it?

THE DIAMOND POINT GOLD FOUNTAIN PEN

They all say: "Is a good thing."

DIAMOND POINT

We will send it free to anyone sending us three yearly subscriptions at one dollar each. Will you take advantage of this unprecedented offer? Get a new yearly subscriber this, next and the following week, then send us \$3.00 and the pen is yours.

Address all letters and money orders to THE PEOPLE, 184 William street, New York City.

of doing business. He was in favor of the city keeping it for a public park. The motion for \$15,000 was carried.

When the board of education resolution to sell bonds for erection of new No. 3 public school came up it was vigorously opposed by Alderman Maguire, who declared Mayor Hinckle should investigate the schools lately built and remove the commissioners who passed their erection. He declared such work was liable to indictment. School No. 19 was an example. It had hardly been thrown open when the stairway had to be propped up for safety, and the teachers had to take extra precautions to prevent an accident. It was more like a barn than a school.

PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Handlow, 192 Champaign St., Cleveland, O.

To the Members of the S. L. P. and all Friends of the Cause.

The National Executive Committee decided to continue the collections for the GENERAL AGITATION FUND, although the elections are now passed. The reasons for taking this step lie near at hand.

The last election has shown that the field is ripening and will yield good results if properly worked. We must now prepare for the Congressional and a number of important State elections to be held next year and incidentally we must keep our eye fixed on 1900. As many States as offer a chance to establish a State organization and insure a State and electoral ticket must be brought in line, in order to bring out whatever Socialist votes can be brought out throughout the country.

Speakers and organizers must be sent through various portions of the land, and to these funds are required.

The regular income of the National Executive Committee goes a certain way, but it cannot be made to reach for all this, hence contributions are solicited from all who feel that they should give.

All contributions should be sent to the undersigned and will be credited in the party organs.

By order of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.
HENRY KUHN, Sec'y.
184 William street, N. Y. City.

National Executive Committee.

At the session held Nov. 16th, Comrade Bennett held the chair. Absent and excused, Furman. The financial report for the week ending November 13th showed receipts to the amount of \$182.15; expenditures, \$200.69; deficit, \$18.54.

Section Essex County, N. J., reported the expulsion of Benjamin Ackerman, M. Ankin, and Thomas A. Jones for having assisted in organizing another political party.

A number of letters were submitted, written by F. G. R. Gordon, of Manchester, N. H., wherein Gordon, while acting as an organizer of the S. L. P., advises attachment to the Social Democracy and otherwise talks treason. It was resolved to discharge Gordon as an organizer and to notify the N. H. State Committee, as well as Section Manchester, giving the substance of the letters.

A communication from the Ohio State Committee is referred to the General Executive Board of the S. T. & L. A. Charters were granted for new sections in Roanoke, Va.; two sections in Scranton, Pa.; Montpelier, Vt.; Abington, Mass.

The secretary is instructed to communicate with the Arbeiterzeitung Publ. Ass'n, and ascertain what steps have been taken to prevent the recurrence of the trick played by the compositors of the "Abendblatt" in falsifying the instructions to the voters that appeared in the issue of the day before election.

I. A. MALKIEL,
Recording Sec'y.

District of Columbia.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 13.—Section Washington holds agitation meetings on the 1st and 3rd Sundays of each month, at Labor Bureau Hall, 609, C. N. W. Meetings begin at 7 P. M.

The citizens (?) of this city have no vote or voice in any of the affairs of either nation or city, but are ruled much as is a Russian province by three commissioners or despots—so there is no chance to agitate politically for Socialism; yet we are doing good work among those who live in the State of Maryland, especially that part lying near this city. We are now a year old, as a section, and while many predicted that we would not last three months, we are in better condition than when we started. One good result has been accomplished, i. e., that Socialism is now known as something different to Single Tax, Free Silver, etc., and the fact has been made plain that Socialists are not cranks or visionaries; in fact we have striven to make Socialist principles and tactics known and have to a great extent succeeded.

The Single Tax ass does not now masquerade as a lion, as a matter of fact the Single Tax is defunct, and the only time we realize that it ever existed, is when the wind comes from the direction of the corpse.

Several other freak shows have also lost the power to trade in our name, and if Section Washington has done nothing else, it has cleared the atmosphere.

All comrades and others are invited

to attend our agitation meetings. Remember the time and place—1st and 3rd Sundays, 7 P. M., at 609 C street, N. W.

Massachusetts.

BOSTON, Nov. 16.—Daniel De Leon will speak Sunday, November 21st, at 8 P. M., at Wells' Memorial Hall, 987 Washington street. Subject: "Plain Words to Workingmen, Jew and Gentle."

HOLYOKE (City election), Dec. 14, 1897.—Socialist Labor party nominations.

For Aldermen-at-large.
GEORGE L. LOVELL, and

ALEXANDER N. LAPOINTE.

For Alderman of Ward 3.
MORITZ E. RUTHER.

For School Committeeman.
GUSTAVE A. GEISSLER.

SPRINGFIELD, Nov. 15.—Our section goes into the city elections. It has nominated the following ticket:

For Mayor.
JOHN B. CULLEN.

For Aldermen.
FRED'K A. NAGLER, and

JOHN P. DOYLE.

We expect to increase the vote polled the 2nd of this month.

Boston enters the city campaign with the following nominees:

For Mayor.
DAVID GOLDSTEIN.

For Aldermen.
LEON GREENMAN.

CONRAD KERSTEN,

JAMES F. STEVENS,

HENRY STAMMERJOHANN,

ALBERT STIEG,

HENRY WEHNER,

JAMES NUGENT,

Street Commissioner.

STEPHEN SHAUGHNESSY,

School Commissioner.

MARTHA MOORE AVERY.

Already nine ward meetings are arranged as follows:

Ward 14—Gray's Hall, East Broadway, Nov. 15th.

Ward 8—Well's School-House, Blossom street, Nov. 18th.

Ward 21—Dudley street Opera House, Dudley street, Nov. 22d.

Ward 15—Court House, So. Boston, Dorchester and W. 4th st., Dec. 4th.

Ward 9—Old Franklin School House, Washington st., Dec. 9th.

Ward 13—Spelman Hall, W. Broadway, Dec. 13th.

Ward 18—Old Bath House, Cobot st., Dec. 26th.

Two other ward meetings will be arranged later.

November 28th (Sunday), at Well's Memorial Hall, we are arranging for Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes, of Philadelphia, who is a great favorite with the progressive trades unionists here. The last meeting of the campaign will be at Faneuil Hall, on Dec. 20th; a parade is being arranged to start from Castle Square to march to the hall. Our Jewish comrades have in preparation a mass meeting at which Comrade Daniel De Leon will speak.

Having the power and having the justice, "the government" have not seen fit to give to the public, as yet, our vote for governor. We are assured of a good increase.

MARTHA MOORE AVERY,

Sec'y Press Committee.

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR OCTOBER, ENDING WITH NOVEMBER 11, 1897.

RECEIPTS.

Cash on hand, Oct. 1st....\$74.78

Section.

New Bedford, Am., 20 stamps....2.00

Westfield, 20 stamps....2.00

Worcester, 70 stamps....7.00

Lowell, 15 stamps....1.50

North Adams, 50 stamps....5.00

Everett, 15 stamps....1.50

Springfield 100 stamps....10.00

Clinton, 100 stamps....10.00

Fitchburg, 50 stamps....5.00

Somerville, 30 stamps....3.00

Lynn, 50 stamps....5.00

" on lists....6.25

Brockton, 13 stamps....1.30

Stoneham, 10 stamps....1.00

Boston, new Jewish, 12 stamps....1.20

Lawrence, Ger., 100 stamps....10.00

" Am., 50 stamps....5.00

" Br. 3, 14 stamps....1.40

Coston, City Com., 300 stamps....30.00

Fall River, Br. 3, 30 stamps....3.00

" " 10 buttons....5.00

S. Boston, on lists....16.40

Pittsfield, on lists....15.00

Boston, Am., on lists....15.00

Holyoke, Branch 2, on lists....3.00

Conrad Kersten, So. Boston, on lists....2.75

Dr. John H. Billings, Rockland, donation....2.00

So. Boston, Workmen's SICK Benefit Ass., donation....10.00

M. Ruther, Holyoke, loan....50.00

Total....\$301.58

EXPENDITURES.

Aug. Lehmann, printing....\$10.00

F. G. R. Gordon, 4 weeks' salary and expenses....61.94

A. W. Barr, agitation, Marlborough....2.90

Fr. Geissler, agitation, Clinton....6.00

M. M. Avery, 11 days' salary and expenses, on account....25.00

C. E. Spelman, 9 days' expenses at Northampton, Lawrence, Haverhill and Plymouth Co., on account....22.00

Alex. Kerating, 8 days' agitation at Chicopee and Plymouth County, on account....11.00

Wm. Edlin, 10 days, Springfield, Lawrence, Haverhill, Boston, New Bedford and Fall River....40.78

S. E. Putney, printing, etc....10.70

Section Lynn, Denver's meeting....3.00

Total....\$193.36

HENRY KUHN, Sec'y.

DAILY PEOPLE MINOR FUND.

Previously acknowledged....\$268.25

F. Weidner & Co., Brooklyn, N. Y....2.25

A. Hoehne, Brooklyn, N. Y....2.50

GRAND LABOR FESTIVAL

THURSDAY, November 25, '97,

THANKSGIVING DAY

IN

Grand Central Palace,

43rd Street and Lexington Avenue.

Arranged by the Volkszeitung Conference for the benefit of the labor press.

CONCERT! VAUDEVILLE! BALL!

The famous Japanese troupe

Jugglers, Acrobats and Rope dancers.

Kiralfy's International Ballet Corps

TWO GRAND BALLETTS.

Mme. Marbel, the renown Serpentine dancer.

Great Athletic Performance.

500 Singers from the Arbeiter-Sängerbund.

LIVING PICTURES: "Present and future."

Orchestra from Karl Sahn Club.

The concert will commence at 4 P. M. Tickets 15c. at the following places:

Offices of THE PEOPLE, 184 William St.; Labor Lyceum, 61 East 4th St.; Club Hall, 206 East 86th St.; Clubroom Socialist Literary Society, 100 Clinton St.; Arbeiter-Zeitung, 9 Rutgers St.; Levitzky's Restaurant, 167 East Broadway; West Side Labor Lyceum, 312 West 42d St.; Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949-955 Wilioughby Ave., and in every District Headquarters of the Socialist Labor Party.

Tickets at the Box office 25 Cents.

The following amounts have been paid down to November 17th, incl.:

Previously acknowledged....\$2129.90

Enroll F. Kirchner, Jr., City, \$1.00; Frank Campbell, Jersey City, N. J., \$1.00....2.00

Total....\$2131.10

Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly.